THE

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are misled, as I was a year ago, in supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community. It seems to me now to be no more the organ of that body than though the O. C. had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, and find it, among all the Socialistic organs, without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The hard times crowd us all. Now and then an able-bodied man sends us a dollar and apologizes for not sending two by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks. On the other hand, our annual receipts do not thus far half pay for the bare cost of paper and printing, to say nothing of editorial labor. At the same time many of our subscribers are wealthy and sometimes send us more than the price of the paper. These circumstances have suggested the following plan for equalizing burdens all round: Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription send it to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would have the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack.

PUBLISHERS' CAVEAT.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST will in the future, as in the past, publish all well-written accounts of new Communistic and Coöperative Societies which may be offered in good faith; but it should be clearly understood that its conductors disclaim all responsibility for the character or success of such Societies. They consider that they perform their duty if they exclude schemes which are manifestly hair-brained or fraudulent and continue to set forth, as opportunity offers, the principles which seem to them to lie at the foundation of successful Socialism.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

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SOCIALISTIC NOTES.

The Craig Testimonial Fund has reached the sum of £144.

Henry Holt & Co. of New York have just published a small work—a prize essay—on "Communism in America" by Henry Ammon James.

The spinners of Fall River have given the necessary ten days' notice of a general strike, unless their demands for an increase of fifteen per cent. in wages paid before April, 1878, are conceded. The strike if carried out will throw 15,000 operatives out of employment.

The frequency of divorce in the New England States of late is a matter of general comment. The New Haven *Journal* finds that the ratio of divorce to marriage for the last few years has been, in Vermont, 1 to 16; in Massachusetts, 1 to 23.7; in Rhode Island, 1 to 13; in Connecticut, 1 to 10.4. It is estimated that if Maine and New Hampshire have a similar divorce record 1,800 couples must make shipwreck of matrimony in the New England States annually.

The Chicago *Times* says the "chief outlay of the human race is not, as might be supposed would be the case, in the direction of the construction of great public works, in enduring monuments of peace, and the like, but in the building and support of human abattoirs. If one could obliterate all that portion of national indebtedness throughout the world which has been accumulated by unjust wars, at least one-half of the monstrous pile would disappear. Thus expensive is the gratification of human passion and ambition."

This is the picture which John Stuart Mill gives of competive society: "The condition of numbers in civilized Europe, and even in England and France, is more wretched than that of most tribes of savages who are known to us. It may be said that of this hard lot no one has any reason to complain, because it befalls those only who are outstripped by others, from inferiority of energy or of prudence. This, even were it true, would be a very small alleviation of the evil. If some Nero or Domitian were to require a hundred persons to run a race for their lives, on condition that the fifteen or twenty who came in hindmost should be put to death, it would not be any diminution of the injustice that the strongest or nimblest would, except through some untoward accident, be certain to escape. The misery and the crime would be that any were put to death at all. So in the economy of society; if there be any who suffer physical privation or moral degradation, whose bodily necessities are either not satisfied or satisfied in a manner which only brutish creatures can be content with, this, though not necessarily the crime of society, is *pro tanto* a failure of the social arrangements. And to assert as a mitigation of the evil that those who thus suffer are the weaker members of the community, morally or physically, is to add insult to misfortune. Is weakness a justification of suffering? Is it not, on the contrary, an irresistible claim upon every human being for protection against suffering? If the minds and feelings of the prosperous were in a right state, would they accept their prosperity if for the sake of it even one person near them was, for any other cause than voluntary fault, excluded from obtaining a desirable existence?"

WHAT IS, AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

XVIII.

COÖPERATION. (*Continued.*)

The trade-unions were a first step in the right direction, but they did not go far enough. Their main object was, and has always been, to protect their members from reductions of wages and loss of work. They have offered no deliverance from the slavery of the hireling system, but have merely sought to mitigate its rigors. Still, they have fulfilled a valuable service in teaching the workingmen to combine and organize among themselves, so as to proceed on a common agreement. After this first advance arose another movement which has achieved remarkable success. I refer to the Coöperative societies of Great Britain and other countries. This movement had its origin in the town of Rochdale, about sixteen miles from the city of Manchester, in Lancashire, England. The story of the organization and growth of the first society, the "Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society," is nicely told in a letter published in the New York *Sun*, in 1878. I will copy a couple of paragraphs from the letter:

"In the latter part of 1843 a number of poor weavers, who were out of work, and nearly out of money, held a meeting to see whether they could not devise some plan by which they might make their way of life a little less difficult. They had a plenty of projects, but all of them required money, and this they had not. However, they came to a wise conclusion. They settled upon a plan of coöperation, and agreed to contribute the magnificent sum of twopence each per week towards raising a capital fund. That amount did not promise great results, but it was not an insignificant sum to them. While the fund was growing they agreed to work and wait. The work of collecting the money was taken in turn, and every Sunday some one of the number trudged the weary round of nearly twenty miles on foot, and received at each house twopence. The weekly collection frequently did not amount to $1.25. Presently they increased the weekly payment to threepence. Toward the close of 1844, they had managed to collect $140, and on this sum they began business. They numbered only 28 members. The basement story of a building in Toad-lane had been leased, and they had to spend a good part of their money for fixtures. While they were collecting their fund they had talked much about their enterprise, and all Rochdale was smiling at what they chose to consider rather a good joke than anything else. Finally they took down the shutters, and Toad-lane was all in a titter at the immense stock displayed. It consisted solely of oatmeal, butter, sugar and flour; and the entire stock was not worth more than $75; all the rest of their capital had been used in getting ready for business. They opened only two or three times a week, and then only for a few hours. But the 'Odd Weavers' Shop,' as it was contemptuously called in Lancashire dialect, was a live enterprise and was not to be laughed down. The originators had learned what little they knew in the hard school of adversity, and their struggles with poverty had taught them that honesty and confidence in each other must be the foundation of their scheme. They trusted in each other, and all felt safe in so doing. That was an important consideration.

"As time wore on their numbers increased, their sales grew larger, the store had to be open more frequently, and for a longer time, and their quarters had to be enlarged. In a very little time they found it necessary to lease the entire building in which they had started. At the close of 1845—their first full year's business—they had 74 members; their capital stock was $905; the sales amounted to $3,550, for the year, and the profits were $110, or nearly $1.50 for each member. The result was not grand, but it showed progress. At the end of 1850 the Society had taken a good position financially, and people had stopped laughing and sneering at them. They then had 600 members; their capital stock was $11,445; the business of the year amounted to $65,895, and the profits were $4,400, or about $7.33 to each member—equivalent to fully two weeks' work at that time. With very little exception their advance has been at just about that rate ever since, and there has never been a backward step. The enterprise has now attained vast proportions, having many departments and branches, and making a regular network of stores in the town of Rochdale itself, and in numerous villages in a circuit of ten or fifteen miles around it. They sell groceries at no less than eighteen different points. The town of Rochdale has about 40,000 people. At the close of 1877, the Society numbered 9,772 members; the capital stock was $1,401,375; the sales of the year were in amount, $1,558,770, and the profits amounted to the handsome sum of $258,240."

The success of the Rochdale Pioneers led to the formation of other similar societies, which, in their turn, succeeded beyond the hopes of their founders. The movement spread rapidly. At the present time there are about twelve hundred societies scattered over England and Scotland, with a total membership of over half a million. Some of the societies number as many as twelve thousand, while others are quite small. Five hundred and forty of the leading societies are organized into a "Coöperative Union," the principal executive power of which is lodged in what is called the Central Board, composed of persons elected by the societies. At the center of the distributive system is the great Wholesale Society, located at Manchester, with its branches in London and Newcastle. The stores of the various societies buy their stocks mostly of the Wholesale, although this is not at all compulsory. The buyers are quite at liberty to avail themselves of the best

market, but as a rule they find an advantage in buying of the Wholesale.

The Coöperators have not confined themselves to buying and selling merchandise. They have undertaken the manufacture of various lines of goods, and evidently aim at making themselves independent of the old system as soon as possible. They now have a boot- and shoe-factory at Leicester, soap-works at Durham, a candy- and biscuit-factory at Crumpsall, etc. They find that in production, as well as in distribution, Co-operation is a successful system. They own a steam-cutter, "The Pioneer," which does part of their ocean freighting and will probably prove to be the neucleus of a considerable fleet. They publish a weekly paper, the *Coöperative News*, which has a circulation of 16,000 copies. It is loaded with facts and discussions bearing on Coöperation. Frequent conferences are held in the various sections of the union, and delegates from all the societies hold an annual congress, at which full reports of their affairs are read and freely discussed. Many interesting papers are read at these gatherings. They furnish the means for directing the course of the co-operative movement, pointing out its dangers and indicating new advantages which may be secured. There is an active propaganda, at the head of which stands the *Coöperative News*.

All the Coöperators seem to be prospering, even in the late years of ruinous depression in trade. We hear no word of complaint from them, but, on the contrary, their balance-sheets show good profits. As a money-making system Coöperation may therefore be set down as a success. By means of it poor men have become well-to-do. They have furnished their own capital by simply combining their earnings and starting in a small way. One secret of their success will be found in the higher standard of trade morality they have adopted. "The Coöperative Union," says the Rules and Orders, "is formed to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice and economy, in production and exchange—1. By the abolition of all false dealing, either direct, by representing any article produced or sold to be other than what it is known to the producer or vendor to be; or indirect, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor material to be known by the purchaser, to enable him to judge of the value of the article purchased. 2. By conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, through an equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as profit. 3. To prevent the waste of labor now caused by unregulated competition." On this foundation the Coöperators have prospered greatly.

But money-making is not the sole aim of Coöperation as expounded by its leading advocates. It aims also to educate its members and improve their social condition. Funds are set apart to support libraries and reading-rooms, to hire lecturers, to pay for tuition in various scientific and mechanical studies for classes of Coöperators, etc. At Rochdale the Pioneers' Society has now, in its new and spacious buildings, fourteen different reading-rooms, in which are kept on file all the leading newspapers, magazines, and quarterlies published in the island. There are also reference libraries aggregating over eleven thousand volumes, and a circulating library of lighter literature containing some twelve thousand books. All these are free to members every day in the week. The educational fund set apart every year by these Rochdale Coöperators amounts to $5,000, and this takes priority in the division of the profits. No personal dividends are paid until this fund is fed. In winter courses of lectures are paid for by various societies, and I have read accounts of concerts and other sociable entertainments which the Coöperators have enjoyed among themselves, showing that the tendency of the system is to develop harmony and good fellowship. The leading men in the movement keep these higher objects continually before the Coöperators, and urge them not to devote themselves altogether to the earning of dividends. At the last annual congress Mr. Thomas Hughes, Q. C., author of "Tom Brown at Oxford," etc., made a speech in which he dwelt on the true aims of Coöperation. From the report of his remarks in the *Coöperative News*, I quote:

"He believed that the work of the Coöperative Union meant nothing less than the application of the highest principles of our religion to the every-day business of life. It was a practical effort—let those laugh who cared—to bring our common daily lives into harmony with our highest religious faith. That was a 'solemn' work, and it was a duty of the highest kind to which men and women could set their hands. It was an attempt to make this nation feel that human society is founded upon brotherhood and not upon self-interest. One of the saddest sights on earth was to see honest men waiting for work which they could not get; and another sad thing was for men to put their hands to work which was of no use. In order to get rid of these two sad sights we have to reörganize the industry of this country from top to bottom; and the first step to this end was to carry out faithfully the objects for which this Coöperative Union was founded. He wished they were doing this work more faithfully, and he trusted we should do it more and more faithfully every day."

These are the views held by the leading men, and expressed whenever opportunity offers. But to get at a true idea of the present development of Coöperation we must bear in mind that the great masses engaged in the movement are not yet sufficiently advanced to appreciate much that lies beyond money-making. They are escaping from poverty into comfort and security for the future through the profits of Coöperation, and that is all they will naturally care for at first. But the higher interests of education and social fellowship will surely take a hold on their minds in time.

The power exhibited by the Coöperative Societies in trade is remarkable. The individual shopmen cannot compete with them. Already there is an outcry that the societies will soon become a great trade monopoly. The complaints are so loud that a Parliamentary committee has been appointed to investigate the workings of Co-operation. The Coöperators, on their part, say that all they ask is to be let alone. They feel certain of subduing the old system if left to cope with it on equal terms. But suppose they do subdue it, drawing into their ranks the whole nation? Would that produce a satisfactory state of things all round? F. W.-S.

(To be Continued.)

SOCIALISTIC MEMORIES.

The Salford Co-operative School---its Small Beginnings and Large Growth---its Sociables and Meetings---its Enthusiasms, Failures and Successes.

Brief mention of the Salford Coöperative School was made in the American Socialist of June 5th, and of Joseph Smith, one of its founders, who recently died in his 81st year. The few facts then stated were obtained from Robert Stevens, who joined the School when only fourteen years of age. These facts are corroborated and other facts added by John W. Ashton, of Pawtucket, R. I., who at the age of eighteen joined the same School, and was there associated with Mr. Stevens.

In 1830 it was few in numbers and held its sessions in a "small upper chamber" in the house of a widow named Mrs. Bottomley, living in Manchester. In the course of a year a larger room, capable of accommodating perhaps sixty, was secured in the adjoining city of Salford. Here they held their weekly tea-parties on Sunday and their evening-schools—the scholars being for the most part factory operatives from ten to thirty years of age, and the teachers enthusiastic Socialists. Charles Bury, manager of a silk-mill, taught chemistry and Latin; James Rigby taught grammar; George Manly taught penmanship; Mr. Ashton taught drawing and music; and so on. Among the teachers were several ladies, including Mrs. Bottomley (who afterward became Mrs. Craig) and Miss Crowther. The teachers asked nothing for their services. They taught from attraction for their work. Education at that time was much less common in England than at the present day. The system of public schools has been developed since. One of the principal lawyers of Rhode Island was picked up in the streets of Manchester, a rough, ignorant boy, and taken to the Coöperative School by Mr. Ashton, and given a start in education which has ended in his becoming prominent in the profession he has chosen.

The School grew, and soon a larger room was required. They talked the matter over, discussing one plan and another. Nearly all were poor mechanics. They asked for subscriptions to build; but there were only small sums offered. They finally asked Joseph Smith what he would give. "Not a penny," he said. They were greatly surprised, for they had counted much on him, he being the most wealthy person among them. "And why not?" they inquired. "Because your plans will not succeed." "What then do you suggest?" "This: I shall begin to-morrow morning the building of fourteen cottages, and over these I will construct a large lecture-room, etc., for coöperative uses." All were delighted; in a few months they had a hall that would accommodate six hundred persons.

When the numbers were few their weekly tea-parties were provided for by individual members, who charged only the actual cost of tea, sugar, bread, butter and whatever else was furnished. Afterward more general provision was made, and in the rooms provided by Joseph Smith was a kitchen, as well as reading-room and lecture-hall. Volunteers of young men and women served as waiters. The actual cost for each person was found not to exceed four-pence.

The new hall was nicely furnished; and pains was taken to invite friends to attend the sociables, many of whom were good musicians. The new hall was soon too small, and the Socialists finally secured the largest hall in Manchester, capable of seating 2,000 persons; and even this was inadequate on special occasions when Robert Owen or some other favorite speaker was advertised. They came from Stockport and Ashton-under-Lyne seven miles away; from Hyde and Staleybridge, eight miles; from Glossop, fifteen miles; from Huddersfield, twenty-four miles; from Halifax, twenty-five miles. At that day there were no railroads, and these journeys were generally made on foot. The towns around Manchester and Salford had no similar institutions then; and besides the attraction to these places (or place, for Manchester and Salford are substantially one city, only separated by a river) was very great.

After the tea-party, which was a very agreeable affair, and conducted in a genuine Communistic spirit, they marched two by two through the city and to the large hall. The procession would sometimes be half a mile in length, and attract much attention and comment. The exercises would be generally begun with music by the well-trained band, composed of some of the best musicians of Manchester. Then a Socialistic song would be rendered:

"On verdant plains
Our homes shall rise;"

or,

"Hail! brothers, hail!
The social system hail!"

or,

"A brighter morn
Awaits the human day;"

or some other of the many songs which, composed by enthusiastic Socialists, expressed their genuine sentiments, though perhaps not ranking high as works of art.

Then came the lecture on some Socialistic theme; or, if Robert Owen were present, perhaps three or four lecturers would discourse outside and inside the hall. Then questions would be asked and answered; and then there would be more singing; the following song always closing the exercises of the day:

"Farewell, dear friends:
Adieu, adieu,
Till we again unite,
And happiness
Shall dwell with you:
Farewell, dear friends
Good night! good night!"

This song, arranged in parts, and sung by the whole vast assembly, produced a wonderful, electrifying effect.

Robert Stevens says, "Oh, the charm of those days; they were the happiest of my life; the freshness, the unselfishness of that school, was beautiful!" And Mr. Ashton says, "The attraction that drew us together was irresistible; it was like the day of Pentecost; our Sunday exercises were the themes all through the week. We felt united; we had a single purpose, and it was a Communistic one. We looked for the establishment of Communities. Coöperation in trade was only the stepping-stone to that. We expected to establish new social institutions that would benefit the whole world. The present attitude of the great body of English Socialists is most surprising to me. They appear to care but little for anything that does not put money in their pockets. It was not so in the early days. Still great good has been accomplished. They have gained a reduction for mechanics in the hours of labor; many laborers are now in good circumstances, who but for Coöperation would be in poverty and distress. There are Coöperative reading-rooms and Coöperative stores, and a large Workingmen's College in Manchester near the very spot where our meetings and tea-parties were held. And the reäction from the nobler phases of Socialism which has come in England must be ascribed, doubtless in great measure, to the Communistic failures which took place under Owen at New Harmony in this country and at Tytherly, in England. I hope to see the day, old as I am, when the enthusiasm of those early days of English Socialism will be revived, and something as grand as ever Owen contemplated will be accomplished."

From *Macmillan's Magazine:* "More than half the soil of the United Kingdom is nominally owned by some two thousand persons. According to a valuable analysis of the very ill-arranged and incomplete parlimentary return of the land-owners of the United Kingdom published in the Financial Reform Almanac for 1878, 421 persons are the owners of 22,880,755 acres, or nearly five million acres more than one-fourth of the total area of the United Kingdom. The

mind is unable to grasp what such a monopoly costs the country, but certain features of it stand forth with a prominence sufficiently notable. In a most absolute sense the well-being of the entire population of some thirty-two million souls is placed in the power of a few thousands. For these thousands the multitude toils, and, it may be, on occasion starves. Hence it is that all through rural England we have continually before us that most saddening of all spectacles—two or three families living in great splendor, and hard by their gates the miserably poor, the abject slaves of the soil, whose sole hope in life is too often the workhouse—that famous device against revolution, paid for by the middle class—and the pauper's grave."

THE COMMUNE OF MONTRICHER.

Switzerland is divided into Cantons or States, and they are divided into Communes; which take the place of our townships or districts, but which differ from them in owning real estate, often of great value, administered by an elected municipality, not for the benefit of the inhabitants, but for the benefit of the members of the Commune residing within its limits.

The membership is an inherited right, never lost even by continued absence or by a change of nationality. The only formality necessary to acquire it by children born in foreign countries is a certificate of their birth, countersigned by the Swiss Consul and sent to the municipal authorities, who inscribe the name on their books. Residents of the Commune not members can acquire the membership by purchase subject to a vote, the price being regulated by the public wealth of the Commune.

The Commune of Montricher, in the Canton de Vaud, is nearly an average one as to wealth, and a short description of it may interest the readers of the SOCIALIST.

The village of Montricher is situated at the base of the Jura, at the point where field culture becomes profitable; the mountain above being covered with forest as far up as trees will grow, and the summit of the mountain being used for summer pasture. Around and below the village are the fields belonging to the inhabitants.

The village itself consists of one long, straggling, ill-paved street, lined on each side with a row of low, stone buildings, containing usually both the dwelling-house and the stables. In front of the houses a paved yard, open to the street, is mostly used to receive the manure pile, which, well arranged in woven layers, is both the pride and the wealth of the Swiss peasant. Behind the house is found the kitchen garden with a flower border and some fruit trees. At the head of the street, on a high hill, are the remains of a large castle, now a mass of ruins; a fine fountain of cool living water stands near the center of the village, a large stone trough receiving its water and serving as a watering-place for all the stock of the inhabitants. Two inns, a baker-shop and a small store supply the wants of the population.

The property held in common consists in fields, woodland and pastures, a school-house, a large bake-oven and a wine-press. It is administered by a municipality composed of twelve members, of which six are elected each year for a two-years' term; the executive department consists of a Syndic and a Treasurer, and the municipality appoints a Secretary. To the municipality is added a council of forty persons, also chosen by vote, whose consent is necessary whenever an important decision is taken, such as buying or selling real estate, clearing woodland or changing the mode of distribution of the annual revenues.

The woodland possessed in common is sufficient to supply the members with all the firewood they need; each fall the wood to be distributed and yet standing is divided into a number of lots equal to the number of persons entitled to it, and each lot is numbered, the corresponding numbers are then drawn by lot, and each one cuts and hauls his respective share. The Commune is also able to furnish its members all the lumber they need to build houses and barns; the bill of lumber needed is made and approved by competent persons, and the forester in charge selects and allows to be cut as many trees as will make the necessary amount.

The farming land is divided into parcels, from one-half to one acre, and is rented out annually to the highest bidder, none but members of the Commune being allowed to bid for them. The result is that before the bidding time comes all the members arrive at a mutual agreement as to which lot they shall bid on, and the amount bid is a nominal one, practically resulting in an equitable division of the land among its members. In old times the land was cultivated in common and the crops divided, but the new plan works better, and much larger crops are raised.

The pastures, which are large tracts of land on top of the mountain, some five or six thousand feet above the level of the sea, are rented for the summer to cheese-makers, who take their cows there in the spring and remain till the cold weather drives them off. The rent money is used to pay the running expenses of the Commune.

The bake-oven was used in past times by all the inhabitants to bake their bread; the Commune furnished the wood, and each family had to do its own work; but of late, a baker having established himself in the village, who does the work on very low terms, it has been found more satisfactory to furnish him the flour and pay him to make the bread, and the oven is no longer used.

The wine-press is used by all in turn, each doing his own work, the Commune furnishes a man who takes care of the machinery, keeps order and helps as occassion presents itself. The rule is, first come first served. It is used for wine and cider, and large quantities are made every fall.

The Commune also pays a keeper of the forest to prevent the stealing of the wood, a keeper of the fields to arrest trespassers and thieves, and pay the school-teacher; but the schools are under State supervision.

The whole Communal system is under the care of the State, which makes general laws to regulate and direct all the municipalities, and even suspend them and appoint a receiver for a number of years, if upon proper representation it is found that the property of the Commune is mismanaged and losing in value.

The benefit of the Communal system to the Swiss is very great, especially to the poor, who thus receive annual benefits, which otherwise they would long ago have wasted. The Commune is also obliged to take special care of the orphans and sick otherwise unprovided for. In case of serious sickness, or where the patients are incurable, they are sent to the State Hospital, and a very low pension for their support is paid out of the Communal treasury. Orphans are bound out to reliable persons, if old enough to be able to earn their support; if they are too young, they are let out every year to the lowest bidder—a system liable to much abuse, yet found to work better than could be expected; and with strict laws well enforced as to the care of the children, especially compelling the attendance at the schools, it is much better than the poor-house system of this country.

The owning of a part of the property in common and living close together in villages have evolved a large amount of Communal feeling; the sick are always helped by their neighbors; not only waited on, but often, if needy, their farm work is carried on until their recovery; and neighbors, although sometimes not very friendly, will always turn out to help one another in time of need; for experience has taught them that they will need help themselves in turn. All holidays also are enjoyed in common, and become regular Communal feasts, to the great increase of pleasure and kindly feelings.

The Swiss Communal system is a very old one, dating back to feudal times. It has sustained the ordeal of time, and is highly appreciated by all who have enjoyed its benefits. It is an interesting example of practical Communism, and well worthy the attention of all those interested in the subject. ALBERT CHAVANNES.

THE FUTURE OF THE HEBREWS.

George Eliot, in her last book, just published by Harper & Brother, entitled "Impressions of Theophrastus Such," has a strong plea for the Hebrew race, and a restoration of their nationality. The following are paragraphs from the essay:

Apart from theological purposes, it seems to be held surprising that anybody should take an interest in the history of a people whose literature has furnished all our devotional language; and if any reference is made to their past or future destinies some hearer is sure to state as a relevant fact which may assist our judgment that she for her part is not fond of them, having known a Mr. Jacobson who was very unpleasant; or that he for his part thinks meanly of them as a race, though on inquiry you find that he is so little acquainted with their characteristics that he is astonished to learn how many persons whom he has blindly admired and applauded are Jews to the backbone. Again, men who consider themselves in the very van of modern advancement, knowing history and the latest philosophies of history, indicate their contemptuous surprise that anyone should entertain the destiny of the Jews as a worthy subject, by referring to Moloch and their own agreement with the theory that the religion of Jehovah was merely a transformed Moloch-worship, while in the same breath they are glorifying "civilization" as a transformed tribal existence of which some lineaments are traceable in grim marriage customs of the native Australians. Are these erudite persons prepared to insist that the name "Father" should no longer have any sanctity for us, because in their view of likelihood our Aryan ancestors were mere improvers on a state of things in which nobody knew his own father?

For less theoretic men, ambitious to be regarded as practical politicians, the value of the Hebrew race has been measured by their unfavorable opinion of a prime minister who is a Jew by lineage. But it is possible to form a very ugly opinion as to the scrupulousness of Walpole or of Chatham, and in any case, I think Englishmen would refuse to accept the character and doings of those eighteenth-century statesmen as of the standard value for the English people and the part they have to play in the fortunes of mankind.

If we are to consider the future of the Jews at all, it seems reasonable to take as a preliminary question: Are they destined to complete fusion with the peoples among whom they are dispersed, losing every remnant of a distinctive consciousness as Jews, or are there in the breadth and intensity with which the feeling of separatedness, or what we may call the organized memory of a national consciousness, actually exists in the world-wide Jewish communities—the seven millions scattered from east to west—and again, are there in the political relations of the world, the conditions present or approaching for the restoration of a Jewish state planted on the old ground as a center of national feeling, a source of dignifying protection, a special channel for special energies which may contribute some added form of national genius, and an added voice in the councils of the world?

They are among us everywhere; it is useless to say we are not fond of them. Perhaps we are not fond of proletaries and their tendency to form unions, but the world is not therefore to be rid of them. If we wish to free ourselves from the inconveniences that we have to complain of, whether in proletaries or in Jews, our best course is to encourage all means of improving these neighbors who elbow us in a thickening crowd, and of sending their incommodious energies into beneficent channels. Why are we so eager for the dignity of certain populations of whom perhaps we have never seen a single specimen, and of whose history, legend or literature we have been contentedly ignorant for ages, while we sneer at the notion of a renovated national dignity of the Jews, whose ways of thinking and whose very verbal forms are on our lips in every prayer which we end with an Amen? Some of us consider this question dismissed when we have said that the wealthiest Jews have no desire to forsake their European palaces and go to live in Jerusalem. But in a return from exile, in the restoration of a people, the question is not whether certain rich men will choose to remain behind, but whether there will be found worthy men who will choose to lead the return. Plenty of prosperous Jews remained in Babylon when Ezra marshaled his band of 40,000 and began a new glorious epoch in the history of his race, making the preparation for that epoch in the history of the world which has been held glorious enough to be dated from forevermore. The hinge of possibility is simply the existence of an adequate community of feeling as well as wide-spread need in the Jewish race, and the hope that among its finer specimens there may arise some men of instruction and ardent public spirit; some new Ezras, some modern Maccabees, who will know how to use all favoring outward conditions, how to triumph by heroic examples over the indifference of their fellows and the scorn of their foes, and will steadfastly set their faces toward making their people once more one among the nations.

Formerly, evangelical orthodoxy was prone to dwell on the fulfillment of prophecy in the "restoration of the Jews." Such interpretation of the prophets is less in vogue now. The dominant mode is to insist on a Christianity that disowns its origin, that is not a substantial growth having a genealogy, but is a vaporous reflex of modern notions. The Christ of Matthew had the heart of a Jew: "Go ye first to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The Apostle of the Gentiles had the heart of a Jew: "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises, whose are the fathers and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came." Modern apostles extolling Christianity are found using a different tone; they prefer the mediæval cry translated into modern phrase. But the mediæval cry, too, was in substance very ancient—more ancient than the days of Augustus. Pagans in successive ages said: "These people are unlike us and refuse to be made like us; let us punish them." The Jews were steadfast in their separateness, and through that separateness Christianity was born. A modern book on Liberty has maintained that from the freedom of individual men to persist in idiosyncrasies the world may be enriched. Why should we not apply this argument to the idiosyncrasy of a nation and pause in our haste to hoot it down? There is still a great function for the steadfastness of the Jew; not that he should shut out the utmost illumination which knowledge can throw on his national history, but that he should cherish the store of inheritance which that history has left him. Every Jew should be conscious that he is one of a multitude possessing common objects of piety in the immortal achievements and immortal sorrows of ancestors who have transmitted to them a physical and mental type strong enough, eminent enough in faculties, pregnant enough with peculiar promises, to constitute a new beneficent individuality among the nations, and by confuting the traditions of scorn nobly avenge the wrongs done to their fathers.

There is a sense in which the worthy child of a nation that has brought forth illustrious prophets, high and unique among the poets of the world, is bound by their visions.

Is bound?

Yes; for the effective bond of human action is feeling, and the worthy child of a people owning the triple name of Hebrew, Israelite and Jew feels his kinship with the glories and the sorrows, the degradation and the possible renovation of his national family.

Will anyone teach the nullification of this feeling and call his doctrine a philosophy? He will teach a blinding superstition—the superstition that a theory of human well-being can be constructed in disregard of the influences which have made us human.

Oliver Johnson, the veteran abolitionist, is publishing in the New York *Tribune* a series of recollections called "The Fall of Slavery." Of Benjamin Lundy, the Quaker who was the first to raise the standard of revolt against slavery after that institution had seemed to gain a complete victory in the Missouri compromise of 1821, he writes: "Mr. Lundy's

paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, was a small, dingy-looking sheet, published but once a month. He spent the greater portion of his time in travelling from place to place, procuring subscribers and endeavoring to excite an interest in the subject by conversation and lecturing. In some instances he carried the head-rules, column-rules and subscription-book of his paper with him, and when he came to a town where he found a printing-office, he would stop long enough to print and mail a number of *The Genius*. He travelled for the most part on foot, carrying a heavy pack. He was a man of slight figure, though of a wiry temperament, and these exertions no doubt overtaxed his strength. In his boyhood he had seen coffles of Virginia slaves going down the Ohio on their way to the far South, and his Quaker education had so intensified his hatred of the slave system that he counted no labor or sacrifice on his part too great to be endured in efforts for its suppression. No apostle of the Christian faith ever exhibited a more ardent and unselfish devotion to his work than that which characterized the anti-slavery labors of this devoted but simple-minded Quaker, who obeyed the rule of his sect in 'minding the light' of the Divine Spirit in his own soul."

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1879.

THE CASE OF D. M. BENNETT.

Our readers are generally aware that Mr. Bennett, editor of the *Truth Seeker*, was a few days ago convicted of sending prohibited literature through the mails, and sentenced to thirteen months' imprisonment at hard labor, and to pay a fine of three hundred dollars. The book on which the conviction was obtained is "Cupid's Yokes," by E. H. Heywood, who was himself imprisoned last year for sending it through the mails, and afterwards pardoned by the President. At the time of Mr. Bennett's conviction we did not comment on it for the reason that we doubted whether what we might say would be of any service to him. Our reputation among conservatives is worse than his; and our comments in his favor will probably count against him. But as our silence is taken by his friends as unkindness (according to letters received), we open our minds about him as follows:

Our position in regard to the "Comstock Laws" is, in brief, this: We do not doubt that the purpose in the hearts of the Society of which Mr. Comstock is agent, in procuring these laws, was a good one. They intended to put down immorality, and they have unquestionably done some good by suppressing and destroying grossly lewd publications which ought never to be circulated. But that is about all we can say honestly in their favor. After having done some good they are proceeding also to do some harm by assuming that all open discussion of the sexual question is dirty and obscene, and that it is their duty to suppress it. The sexual troubles by which ordinary society is now demoralized almost to the point of disorganization can never be cured by trying to cover them up. It is impossible to cover them up, and if it were possible it would do no good. They would spread even more rapidly in the dark than in the light. Therefore, if society is ever to be improved and purified, somebody must be allowed to teach openly and freely a true sexual morality and such physiological truth bearing on the subject as is indispensable to practical enlightenment. And this teaching must be brought within the reach of the great masses of the people, the poor as well as the rich. The Comstock laws, as interpreted in the cases of Heywood and Bennett, seem to us to stand in the way of any such system of teaching.

But these laws being enacted, and we all having seen how they are interpreted by Judge Benedict and others, it becomes an important question what is the wisest course for us to take in regard to them. Mr. Heywood and Mr. Bennett, feeling keenly that the laws are unjust and that they ought not to be submitted to, have defied them by sending matter through the mails which they might have been sure would lead to prosecution. In Mr. Bennett's case this was particularly true, for he mailed copies of the very book on which Mr. Heywood had a short time previously been convicted. There can be no doubt that the motives of both these gentlemen were good. They are both earnest men, and by no means capable of conscious obscenity. But we doubt whether it was wise in them to defy the laws by breaking them. We think it would be a better way to submit to the laws and to set to work to educate public opinion up to a point where it can discriminate between what should be generally known in regard to sexual principles and practices and what not. That is the course we have taken so far as we could. We have withdrawn such of our publications as were likely to offend conservative people, and have quietly waited for the time to come when the public would listen to what ought to be said. When the good sense of the public really demands it the Comstock laws can be set aside in a day. We took this same non-resistant attitude toward the clergy during their late attack on the Community. We said to them that if they procured new laws against us we would promise beforehand to submit to them. It can do no one any good to put himself in the attitude of a criminal in such matters.

In regard to Mr. Bennett personally, we regret exceedingly that this sentence should have been passed upon him. We feel certain that he is at least as honest a man as those who condemned him. He is far advanced in years, and it appeals strongly to our sympathy to think of the heavy penalty he must undergo. Our best hope in regard to him is that he, too, may be pardoned; and, to do what we can for this end, we shall send our paper with this article marked, to the President, hoping that our influence may weigh a little in favor of mercy with a man so independent. A soft heart is no disgrace to a President. Hon. Schuyler Colfax, in his lecture on Lincoln, tells the following stories of his mercies in war, which may also be good examples in peace:

An old man, broken down with grief, came to the White House to ask Mr. Lincoln to pardon his only son, who was sentenced to be shot for some grave military offense. Mr. Lincoln told him he could not do anything for him; that he had just received a telegram from Gen. Butler enjoining upon him not to pardon any more soldiers, as the army was becoming perfectly demoralized by it. The old man fell to the floor in a paroxysm of grief. This touched Lincoln's heart, and he said aloud, "Ben Butler or no Ben Butler, here goes!" and he sat down and wrote, "Do not shoot ——— till you get orders from me." On reading this to the old man it did not assuage his grief, "for," he said to Lincoln, "you may order him to be shot *next week!*" "Oh!" said Lincoln, "if your son does not lose his life until *I* order him to be shot, he will live to be older than Methuselah!"

Again, a man in battle, just at the moment of attack, threw down his gun and hid behind a stump. His case was brought to the President as a very flagrant one, that ought to be made an example of by immediate execution. But the President coolly said, "If the Lord gives a man a pair of cowardly legs how can he help running away?" And so the man's life was saved.

THE HEBREWS.

We would call attention to the very suggestive and remarkable extract from George Eliot on the future of the Hebrew race, printed in another column.

It is perhaps thought by some of our readers that we give too much space, for a Socialistic journal, to questions relating to the Hebrew people. Possibly some have concluded that we have the Hebrew "on the brain." To all who may not understand our course, we offer the following considerations:

1. The Hebrews have been pioneers in Socialism. As we showed in last year's volume of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, this was true under the Mosaic economy from the beginning. Then it was through the Hebrews that Pentecostal Communism was introduced, 1800 years ago. The one hundred and twenty men and women who were gathered with Peter and the other apostles in that "upper room" at Jerusalem, and to whom the Holy Spirit was first given, were Hebrews. The "devout men out of every nation under heaven," who "came together" to hear the gospel first preached, were Hebrews. The "three thousand" and the "five thousand" who first believed, who "were together and had all things common," who "were of one heart and one soul," and none of whom "said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own," were Hebrews. The men who sent forth this gospel to "every creature under heaven," circumcised and uncircumcised, were Hebrews. Jesus Christ, the greatest and most perfect Communist in the world's history, was, as to his human nature, a Hebrew. These facts alone should invest the Hebrew race with absorbing and undying interest to every genuine Socialist.

2. The Hebrews are the pioneers in Stirpiculture. They represent, to-day, four thousand years of race-culture; and take them all in all, and as the result of this culture—this selection, breeding in and in, and crossing—they have been the most splendid race upon which the sun has ever shone. In Joseph, in Moses, in Joshua, in David, in Solomon, in Elijah, in Isaiah, in Daniel, in Christ, in Peter and Paul and John, to say nothing of multitudes contemporary with these or of later ages, they reached the kingliest heights of human achievement. In statesmanship, in inspired leadership, in wisdom, in poetry, from its loftiest majesty to its sweetest strains—from worship and prophetic utterance to the "chiefest among ten thousand" songs of love, in self-sacrifice, in apostleship, in social organization and brotherhood, they have never been equaled. If stirpiculture is the hope of Socialism and of highest human progress, then Socialists will do well to modestly study the history, both past and contemporary, of the Hebrew race.

3. The Hebrew race represents Spiritualism—the highest and best. All over the world, during the past thirty years, people have been filled with awe and wonder by the developments of modern Spiritualism. But the history of modern Spiritualism is only a child's primer compared with the history, written and unwritten, of Hebrew Spiritualism. What are the mediums of to-day, worthy as thousands of them may be, compared with Abraham, and Joseph, and Moses, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, and the long line of prophets, with him who "spake as never man spake," and who could give power to all his followers to become sons of God, and to do the same mighty works as himself? Where is the medium now who, like Peter, can stand forth, and in the power of the Holy Spirit win three thousand souls to sinlessness and Communism in one day? Where is the medium able to make a life-career equal to Paul's, carrying the Gospel of Christ and his Communism all over the Greek and Roman world, convincing men everywhere by the word of truth and by signs and mighty wonders? The greatest of moderns are but children compared with these Hebrew men. If Spiritualism has a vital connection with Socialism, if the most important induction from the history of Socialism in the past is that the foundations of success must be laid in spiritual religion—a religion which unites men's hearts in brotherhood by uniting them first to a common center and fountain of brotherhood in heaven—then wise students of Socialism cannot ignore the central Spiritualism represented by the Hebrew race.

4. The Hebrews represent Universal Politics. While in their early history they were not only segregated from the rest of mankind but specially localized in the small district of Palestine, in their later history they have been delocalized and scattered among all nations. Their interests now are as wide as the world, and as comprehensive as the human race. They are interested in the affairs of every nation, because in every nation they have their dwelling-place and their business. They are the cosmopolitan race. The world-empire of finance, in an important sense, is theirs. Their operations in it are immense and kingly. Through the Rothschilds they control Europe; the great governments there are dependent on the Jewish bankers for the sinews of war. Behind Bismarck, behind the Czar, is a veto power in Hebrew hands. And not only are the Hebrews to-day representatives of cosmopolitan politics and interests, but in the far past and in their best exponents—who still live and work in the upper world—they have represented, and still represent, the great principle of spiritual government in the affairs of this world. Not only was Moses a medium—almost preëminent among the sons of men—but the government he established in the Hebrew nation was primarily a Spiritual government—government through the oracle of God. High above all the legal institutions, in the days of the Mosaic Theocracy, the supreme government of Israel was from the holy of holies of the tabernacle, from the speaking tongue of flame, "between the cherubim," over the mercy-seat of the Ark. There was the oracle and spiritual presence of Divine government. From thence came the "glory" that filled the tabernacle, and afterward the temple. "There I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the Ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel." Supplementary to the government from the Holy Place of the Tabernacle was developed government by mediumship, through the prophets, which rose into great prominence from the time of Samuel onward. After the Theocracy was exchanged for the kingship, this mediumistic office gradually became the chief agency of Divine government and influence upon the Hebrew people. But all these methods of Spiritual government were only tentative and preliminary to that more perfect dispensation which came on the day of Pentecost, when the Holy

Spirit entered the temple of humanity, and took the throne of government in the new holy of holies—the purified hearts of men and women—and the kingdom of heaven was begun. All these things were wrought out through Hebrews.

If Socialists have an interest in universal politics, in the bringing of the affairs of the world under the spirit of peace, unity and brotherhood, in the introduction of the Holy Spirit into all hearts, making every one its medium, in the opening of communication with the heavenly Jerusalem, and the establishment of the recognized personal reign of Christ over all mankind, then they should be interested in the Hebrew race and its relation to all these things. The gates through which all these consummations will march in upon the world from the upper empire are held by Hebrew hands. If we would move the hearts of those august gate-keepers to lift up the "everlasting doors" and let the kingdom through, perhaps we can do no better than to begin by loving, studying the history, and helping forward the interests and destiny of, the children of the Covenant in this world.

5. And this thought leads us to another fact, which only needs stating to show its importance. The Hebrew race represents Christianity. The New Covenant as well as the Old was made with them, and by them extended to the Gentiles. Christ came to the "lost sheep of the House of Israel," and he said with a meaning that ought never to be despised that "salvation is of the Jews." The Holy Spirit was first given to the Hebrews. The central nucleus of the New Jerusalem is shown in the Apocalypse as constituted of "144,000 out of the twelve tribes of Israel." The spiritual administration of Christianity, therefore, in all worlds, is thus forever placed in the hands of Hebrews. We Gentiles can only be their mediums and receivers, not their superiors. And if we would honor the fathers of Christianity, we may perhaps do it in no more acceptable way than by taking a loving interest in their descendants, whose presence in the world is an everliving testimony to the truth of the Bible, and whose future is the burden of many an unfulfilled and heart-thrilling prophecy.

COMMUNITY ITEMS.

ONEIDA.

—The children go to the pastures and sandy hills for wild strawberries.

—Among the visitors last week was a gentleman who spent six months with Stanley in Africa.

—Some of the young men practice archery. Mr. K. has put up a target for the children to throw balls at.

—Parties who go to Joppa say that the mosquitoes were never so numerous and aggressive as they are this season.

—Eleven thousand pines, weighing in the aggregate nearly twelve tons, have been received at the fruit-factory this week.

—If visitors praise one thing more than another just now it is our asparagus. They say they never—i. e., hardly ever—tasted anything like it.

—Strawberries are slowly ripening. The few specimens we have seen have an appearance of "arrested development" dolorous to behold. Probably Jack Frost is responsible for it.

—The landscape gardener has set out a purple beech on the north lawn. Although a mere stripling, the scant foliage shows the deep purple tint, approaching crimson, which is peculiar to this tree of the German forest.

—When visitors ask, as they often do, if we *have* to go to dinner at a certain time, if we *have* to rise at a certain hour in the morning, and so on through a long list of "have to-s," we think it is very funny. We haven't one such cast-iron rule. The fact is, we don't do things that way, and there is no doubt that we have rather more leeway about such matters than persons in the small families of ordinary society.

—The cool weather of last week reminded some of our Northern Vermont natives of certain wintry summers which had befallen them in that region. A few remember the famous year, 1816, when snow whitened the ground every month, from January to December, and icicles a foot long were seen on the 9th of June. Mrs. C., who "taught school" in Wolcott, says that on the morning of the 3d of June, 1841, she rode on horseback to the school-house through snow four inches in depth, and that when she sprang from her horse at the gate at half-past 8, the crust was so hard as to bear her weight. Corn had grown several inches and gooseberries and currants were large enough for pies. After this big freeze gooseberries could be picked from the ground in handfulls; yet the remainder of the season was unusually warm, and the farmers who replanted their fields reaped a fine harvest.

—Simple faith-stories are occasionally contributed to the general edification. Here is one that was read a few evenings since:

"A week or two ago I had quite a severe attack of what seemed to be the premonitory symptoms of ague. I fully expected to have just such another time of suffering as I had last fall. I dreaded it very much and set to work to find some way to head off the disease. The first thing I did was to take my case into my own hands. Some one having advised to try the effect of lager beer, I immediately procured a bottle and set it away in my closet, intending to take a draught before each of my meals the next day, expecting thus to restore my appetite and my strength. Retiring to my room a few hours afterward I was astonished to find there a powerful odor of beer. A hasty examination disclosed the fact that the bottle had burst and that the beer was frothing over in a promiscuous way among my clothes in the drawers below. After I had gathered up the fragments I stood looking at them a moment, when the thought came like a flash that it would be well for me to take this smashing of my bottle of beer as a hint that God did not intend that I should get free from disease by such means. I took the hint. The next morning I had a good time praying. I confessed my faith in the power of Christ to work miracles as he did of old, and put my case into his hands with an assurance that he would take it. I promised to give him the glory if he would cure me. Before the day was out I was free from pain; all the symptoms of which I have spoken passed away, and have not since returned; I felt so sure that if only I had faith God would cure me, that I was not surprised at the result. To me this was a miraculous cure and it behooves me to keep my promise and give Him the glory by telling what he did for me."

TOBACCO REFORM IN THE O. C.

III.

HOME-TALK BY J. H. N., APRIL 5, 1853.

Let us have a little more talk about tobacco and sum up our experience and take observations for the future. I am very sensible of a change in the general atmosphere, and in my own feelings and experience, in consequence of the agitation of the subject and the fast. I think the tobacco charm is weakened—we are loosening from its hold.

I recommend to all to bear firmly in mind that the end we propose to ourselves, sooner or later, is entire freedom. We will fix no time and make no resolutions in regard to specific things to be done for the accomplishment of that end, but set it before us as what we are bound for *in faith*—that for which we are apprehended or foreordained as a Community. We must make a clear distinction between natural and unnatural means of exhilaration, and then, as tobacco evidently belongs to the latter class, we have ground to assume that its use will ultimately be displaced among us—that its abolition is foreordained.

At the same time, we must bear in mind that it is, like marriage exclusiveness and any other bad habit or proclivity entailed upon us by the world, not to be treated as a sin and a law set up against it; but we are to throw it open to the light—set truth and criticism free—surely relying on these influences to deliver us. That is all God asks of us. He does not require us to sail right up to the dock at once; but wants us to carry a line forward and hitch on to the dock, and then warp up as fast as we can, according to circumstances. I propose that end to myself and for the Community; and I propose it to myself, not as a matter of purpose and resolution, but as a matter of *faith*, with the understanding that *God* has taken the matter in hand; that he has undertaken to purify us to himself, and will purge out of us the appetite for tobacco among other false appetites, and make our nervous system independent of such excitements. In this confidence I will resist any legal suggestions. I will see that a legal conscience does not insinuate itself and take advantage of the movement we are making, for the law worketh wrath and never did and never will cure any such disease of the spirit. There is a right way and a wrong way of quitting, and I have not the slightest sympathy with any legality about the matter. At best it will only make a change from one kind of fuddle to another, and no important advantage will be gained.

Now, with a view to excluding legality, I will say, in the language of Paul, "I know and am persuaded of the Lord Jesus" that there is nothing unclean in tobacco, and that there is not the least occasion for our making the use or non-use of it a matter of conscience. I know that the Lord Jesus has no condemnation in his spirit toward the use of tobacco; that his position in regard to it is the same as he instructed Paul to take in regard to marriage: "If they marry they have not sinned; he that marrieth [useth tobacco] *doeth well*, but he that marrieth not doeth better." That philosophy in the 7th of 1 Corinthians is entirely applicable to such matters as this. Then I would advise every one who uses tobacco, and finds himself in some bondage to it, to thoroughly and boldly believe that Jesus Christ is not condemning him or watching him for evil, but is sympathetic toward him as one who has not "power over his own will," who is in a bondage which he cannot help. Christ, accepting him just as he is, will put him in the way as fast as possible of getting power over his own will, without any interference of the law. Persons must insist on a feeling of reconciliation with Christ, and not allow this matter or any other like it to spring a quarrel with him or their own conscience. Avoid that as you would fire and poison.

Now the act of chewing a quid of tobacco or smoking a cigar is one thing, and the spiritual influence which binds you to repeat that act and makes its repetition necessary to the comfortable state of your nervous system, is a totally different thing. The simple chew or smoke "and there an end," is nothing to be objected to, but the spirit that makes the act habitual—that urges you again and again to repeat it, binds you to it, and makes you dependent on it for a comfortable state of feeling—that spirit is a *reprobate*. We are in a quarrel with that spirit; it is our enemy, and we are bound to part with it some time or other; but it is not essential that we should carry on our war with it by refusing to do what it tells us to do. I do not see why the philosophy of the gospel, "Resist not evil," may not be applied to the tobacco spirit. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head." So far as that is a right way to make war upon any enemy I don't know why it is not in the case of the tobacco spirit.

There are limitations to the non-resistant principle of course, and it is a limitation we are making in adopting the ultimate end I have proposed. We cannot clearly and faithfully adopt that end, and put ourselves into the hand of God to deliver us from tobacco, without making a vital attack on that spirit. That spirit in its full power and vitality in you, won't let you take that attitude of mind; and if God gives you grace to take it, you have resisted that spirit effectually at its center; its heart is pierced, and it will bleed to death. When we have given our case to God in that way we are sure of the end of our faith—the salvation of our souls. We can open ourselves then to the Holy Spirit's influence, and attend to the word of God; and as our hearts grow strong on the word of God, resistance to these reprobate spirits will come as the natural expression of the growth of true life, not of a legal pressure; and it will be effectual.

I am satisfied that the way we shall be delivered from bondage to tobacco and all such external excitements is by our having such a fullness of life—inward life—that we shall not feel any need of them. We know it is *poverty* which is the soul of almost all vices. For instance, selfish love in all its meanness and wickedness is the consequence of poverty. So in regard to the fuddle-vice, it is the poverty of the ordinary state of mankind, wallowing through the cares and troubles of a godless life, that makes tobacco and rum and opium such dear things to them. They find in these things a temporary release from misery—a momentary sense of heavenly peace and comfort. If they had a plentiful supply of fresh life, an opening of their hearts into God and heaven, so that the unspeakable joy of the Lord would be working constantly in their hearts, they would not feel any necessity for these external excitements.

Well, if we keep our eye clear to the end of our faith—keep our hearts open and fearless toward God and man, free from legality—I am sure we shall conquer. This bondage to tobacco will drop off from us like a dry snake-skin. The legal method in such a case is like taking a snake and flaying him while his skin is all on him firm. He dies in the operation. But if let alone, a simple, genial, vital action in him will go on until the skin dies and he runs out of it. And when the animal by this process of growth sheds his skin it is a healthy operation.

I thank God that he has not allowed us to quit the use of tobacco in a premature way. It has been reserved in the Community, I think, on purpose for us to work out the true philosophy of reform with a chance for experiment. We could not have a better habit to philosophize about and experiment with. It is worth every-

thing in such studies to have a concrete case on hand for illustration. All habits are under the same system of spiritual laws that governs this.

AN EVENING WITH MRS. GIRLING.

[From the London Spiritualist.]

She entered the Romsey Town Hall with seven women and two men; stood forward on the platform at a low table with a Bible. For a few moments she looked steadily at the people, and waited until they were quiet. They all then knelt in silent prayer about three minutes. She afterwards rose and said, "We live in a Christian country, and I am bound to treat you as Christians. We are Christian Commonists. We are united children of one Father; you are children of the same Father. We shall, therefore, I am sure of it, spend a pleasant evening. Form a righteous and just judgment."

They all then sang a hymn sweetly and softly. Mrs. Girling afterward continued: If a word should be said to-night you do not understand leave it to the empty chairs. And yet I desire a word for everybody. You have all had various thoughts, and come to various conclusions about me; but I wish to speak to you not of my own word. And I do not wish to speak to you about the paper of this book, or that which is on the paper, so much as that which is contained in it. No; more than that, of the Author who gave it—Christ.

This is by all England considered the unadulterated word of God (holding out the Bible). I am sometimes accused of speaking contrary to this word, but I know nothing, and for years have known nothing but this book. I have suffered for it. I have lived for it. It is impossible that anything should pass away out of this book unless it be fulfilled. God has given me grace and patience to endure persecution and difficulty through testimony to this book. It is God's message, not mine, I have to give you. M. A. Girling is not here to-night; please to consider that I am not here. I came here only in the name of Jesus, and by the spirit of Jesus. He is God manifest in the flesh; nothing less, nothing more.

The message is to all, a full, free, perfect and complete salvation for body and soul. Can there be any better news? But you say, "We have heard that for years and years." Yes, with the outward ear. Ah, but there is an inward ear by which it must be heard, for life or death. It must be heard.

What is the beginning of that full and free salvation? Jesus Christ died to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. If Christ put away your sins once and forever by His sacrifice, it is impossible for them to be still not put away. They are or they are not, once and forever, this moment or not at all, put away. They were put away once and forever—the sins—and here is the record (holding out the Bible). Put away! What is that? Put away, is put away. If so, what is your condition at this moment? You are as free as the air—free, quite free. Man likes freedom. So Christ the Lord pronounces you, and He wills you to be free from sin.

But how to be free from sin? That is the question; and that is the easiest thing and yet the hardest. We must all go together to-night. We are going to heaven, and we must all go together. I am sure, wicked as people say we are, we are going.

Are you a son of God? a daughter of God? You are, or you are not. I say openly that the devil was not able to create, and never allowed to create. We are every one of us sons of God. Yes, and every one of you. I wish to impress this upon you—the close relationship between you and God. I make no distinction between minister and people, between workmen and others. There is one point to which when all come they are equal. When you come to that point all "isms" go. Brought straight home to God, there is no creed between Him and us. Nothing can come between you and God—not even death. Such is your relationship to God. Nothing can come between—no doctrine, no creed, no church—nothing can come between. As near as Christ the Son is to God the Father (Jesus is his name), so near are you.

So close was this relationship of the Son to the Father that He always acknowledged it, and because He so constantly realized it He never sinned. Men get so many things between them and God; men get their brains between God and them. But He wants the heart as a center where He may dwell. The veritable Father that was in Christ is in you; and because men do not acknowledge God they acknowledge sin.

I do not care what men think; I tell you what God tells me. When God says your sins are put away, whose fault is it if you acknowledge sin? There is one who would have you acknowledge sin—Satan. He would have you acknowledge sin. * * * * * * *

By the law of nature men were sinners; but after Christ's death and resurrection they were raised from that state. From the moment Jesus expired (and remember your Father was in that body of Jesus), and from the moment He shed the last drop of His blood, He condemned the law of nature and sin in Himself and destroyed it. He could say, "I am the sword that slew everything evil. I am the Son of the living God. I am God manifested in the flesh to destroy sin in the flesh. I slew in Me, in the life I lived, and in the work I did all the pride, all the strife, all the sin of man, etc. Father, I thank Thee that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes." He was but a babe. I wish to be such a babe.

(Singing, solo and chorus, soft and gentle, now intervened.)

After having suffered all the temptations common to man—not half of it, but all—yet without sin, Satan came and found nothing in Him. Why was He tempted, yet without sin? People used to teach me that to have temptation was to sin; but it is not so. Thoughts are not sin. Can you help them? No. What you see you think about. Can you help it? No. You see green; well, you cannot help seeing it is green. Temptation is not sin. "He cometh and findeth nothing in Me." No sooner was the last enemy slain in the body of Jesus, through God within the human body Jesus could say, "I have slain sin within men." Christ fulfilled all and slew all evil. Yet the priests have not been willing to give up and receive Him, but have kept Moses and let Christ go. Jesus consented to be destroyed, to be suspended between heaven and earth, that He might prove to you and me that He had the power to give life and put down evil; to give life and take it up, and put it down; to put it down and take it again.

Did He look anything like the Son of God when He hung there on the cross, when in humiliation and weakness He suffered? Yet was He truly the Son of God; yea, God Himself. He lay down the life of the body, and took it again. He slew then everything which had destroyed. It is the will of God to restore. It is the will of God to glorify these forms, these bodies. God made you and your forms. Everything is beautiful; but then it requires the beautiful to see the beautiful. It requires purity to see purity. He had it in His mind to glorify these temples. It was in His mind to raise that veritable body which He laid down.

Christ rose triumphant over death. It was the self-same body, bones, sinews, which lay down in the tomb. Only this difference—put to death in the flesh and quickened by the spirit. The very self-same spirit may be in you in power. If the spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead be in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your *mortal* bodies by His spirit that dwelleth in you. What is mortal? Animated material, like my body. He raised up the body of Jesus complete as it was. Did it appear to anyone? Yes, to many.

There is the word of God everywhere, proving that God had power to restore everything as at first—not only restore the soul, but the body. There was and is, an agony for the redemption of the body, and until that body is restored to its proper position and honor, God's work is not done.

Did it ever strike you that your bodies are the temples of God? What do you build houses for—to look at, or to dwell in? What did God build those bodies for? Those bodies of yours are formed for the habitation of the spirit, which temples are holy. May God the Father, who was in Jesus, impress upon every one of your heart's memories that your bodies are temples, which temples are holy.

The blood of your Father which was in Jesus made you free whether you acknowledge it or not. Man's way of putting it is, *Sins may be forgiven.* God's way is, *They are forgiven.* "Free from the law of sin." Cast thyself upon the works and merits of another; upon the blood of Christ. Every true Christian will do that when he comes to die. How much more reasonable to do it now. There is no merit required. Claim freedom. Say, "I am free." That is the way to God. Say, "I am free by the sacrifice of the Father in the Son." That very thing being freedom to you. "Do you believe that you are my son?" says a father to a son. The son replies, "I know only by your word." It is so with God, the Father, who asks you, "Do you believe you are my son?"

If I am freed from the curse, why do I not avail myself of the freedom? God says to you, "You are My son, by nature." We are His by offspring. We are all God's offspring. But he says more—"*I will make you My son by the Spirit*"—by the blood and by spirit. Whose house is this? You say, Mr. Johnson's. He built it; he paid for; it is his. What did he build it for, but that he might dwell in it? Your body, your temple, is God's house. Will you let God come and dwell in it? You are an animated being and have power to say yes. A house has not. You have power to acknowledge that you are God's own temple. If you do acknowledge it, you will ask Him to fill the temple with Himself. That is what He has been waiting for for six thousand years. He has been waiting to restore man to all his rights and privileges.

You must acknowledge these things at death; you must do it at death; you must give in then when grim death comes. Why not now? Let me honestly and lovingly say, do acknowledge that the whole body is the temple of God. "Sanctify them by Thy truth." The words I say to you are truth; your bodies are His temple. No one ought to occupy those temples but your Father. "I will walk in them and dwell in them." What is it, if God walks in my temple and your temple, how near are we related to each other: God to God, brother to brother.

Let me ask you young people especially to present your bodies as living sacrifices, that you may be filled, that you may be saved from suffering, from disease, from death. Give your bodies to God while young, as temples of God, while they have no weakness, no grey hairs. Say, young people—"Take my body, take my soul; fill this young temple, and let it be Thy temple forever; that suffering, decay and death may be abolished forever."

WOMAN'S TOPICS.

There are twenty-six women lawyers in the United States.

The Empress of Japan has established a silk manufactory near the imperial palace, and personally interests herself in silk raising.

Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, who is always expending her money in acts of beneficence, has just given $1,000 to the kindergartens of Boston.

Dr. Schliemann's wife has mastered several European languages, committed to memory most of the poems of Homer, and helps the Doctor in all his enterprises.

Mary A. Livermore presided at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Children's Temperance Society, which has a membership of ten thousand. A choir of six hundred children sang on the occasion.

Lucy Stone, wife of Henry Blackwell, is dissatisfied with the new law giving suffrage to women in respect to educational questions, because it compels her to vote as Mrs. Blackwell. She wants to vote as Lucy Stone.

A Staten Island athletic club has on its roll of membership one hundred and fifty women, who take an active part in the exercises of the club, which include tennis and archery. Staten Island also has an archery club of which women are members as well as men.

The New York *Tribune* says the pulpit of a Universalist church in Watertown, N. Y., was recently occupied on Sunday morning by the Rev. G. J. Porter and his father and mother, the son opening the service, the father offering prayer, and the mother preaching a sermon from Job 7: 16.

The gift to the Harvard Medical School of $10,000, by Miss Marion Hooly, on condition that its advantages should be offered to women as well as men, has been declined, on the ground that it is inexpedient for both sexes to be associated in all the studies and practical work of the school. But it was at the same time voted by the overseers of the school that under certain restrictions it would be expedient to instruct women in medicine at Harvard.

The women of Boston are preparing to exercise the new privilege conferred upon them of voting on educational questions, by registering their names and offering to pay a poll-tax. "Between two and three hundred women," says the Boston *Advertiser*, "have already been registered in Boston; every day sees the number added to, and it is very probable that by autumn the number will be very large. Without exception those who have presented themselves have been women who have represented the wealth and culture of the city. Many of them have been possessed of large property; all of them have been well educated women. They do not by any means represent exclusively the so-called 'strong minded,' but there are many who have been either indifferent, or even in some cases opposed, but who have accepted it as a duty which must be fulfilled. No women either ignorant or disreputable have presented themselves."

NOISELESS WARE.

Noiseless ware is a novelty in china, introduced by Mr. Vernon of Scotland. It consists in providing at the base of the article a groove, in which is riveted a strip of india rubber. This strip is so formed that it projects beyond the groove and effectually prevents the article from scratching any smooth substance on which it may be placed, insures the greatest quiet when the article is being moved about, and renders it less liable to that slipping from trays that now and then causes much grief at meal-time. At the Royal Hotel, Glasgow, Mr. Vernon has placed on exhibition quite an elaborate selection of wares; and of particular interest is a display of shipping ware placed on a rolling table, the surface of which is partly plate-glass, partly finely polished wood, and partly cloth. The table is set a-rocking, to indicate the conditions of a cabin-table in a storm at sea, but the ware persistently refuses to budge. The value of this simple invention for ship crockery will be apparent.

—*Christian Union.*

Under the title of "The Impressions of Theophrastus Such" George Eliot has published what are understood to be her last contributions to literature. It is a book of essays and character-drawing, not a tale. "We mortals," says she, "should chiefly like to talk to each other out of good-will and fellowship, not for the sake of hearing revelations, or being stimulated by witticisms; and I have usually found that it is the rather dull person who appears to be disgusted with his contemporaries because they are not always strikingly original, and to satisfy whom the party at a country house should have included the prophet Isaiah, Plato, Francis Bacon and Voltaire. It is always your heaviest bore who is astonished at the tameness of modern celebrities;

naturally; for a little of his company has reduced them to a state of flaccid fatigue. It is right and meet that there should be an abundant utterance of good sound commonplaces. Part of an agreeable talker's charm is that he lets them fall continually with no more than their due emphasis. Giving a pleasant voice to what we are well assured of makes a sort of wholesome air for the more special and dubious remark to move in."

RECEIVED.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRADE AND COMMERCE OF MILWAUKEE, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1878. Compiled for the Chamber of Commerce. By William J. Langson, Secretary. Milwaukee: Sentinel Company. 1879.

THE LIBRARY MAGAZINE of Select Foreign Literature. New York: American Book Exchange: 55 Beekman Street.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

The Turks are not going to camp in the Balkans.

We hear nothing more about reforms in Asia Minor.

The Colleges have begun their "Commencements."

At the Treasury $13,000,000 of 10-certificates have already been received for conversion into 4-per cent. bonds.

The Comédie Française, of Paris, has gone to London and taken that city by storm. One of the actresses wore a dress costing $2,000.

Aleko Pasha didn't wear a glossy "stove-pipe" after all. He compromised and wore the Bulgarian calpak, or fur cap of the peasantry.

The Arizona, the greatest steamship afloat except the Great Eastern, made her voyage from Liverpool to New York in eight days.

The object of that French Darien Canal Company is how not to dig it. They want to contrive it Suez to keep their Eygptian canal full of business.

Russia has presented Bulgaria with a little navy, consisting of two steamers, six gun-boats and six torpedo-boats. That is right: give every boy a pistol and let him scare the horses.

The British Parliamentary Committee has reported that the electric-light system is sufficiently developed to allow of its being economically used for public but not for private purposes.

It is the peculiarity of a partisan to believe that he makes a terrible slaughter every time he fires his gun. How many times have we heard of the complete discomfiture of the Democrats by Blaine or Conkling or some other Republican Achilles?

It is rumored in Cairo that the Khedive is inclined to abdicate. In case he does he would have the pleasure of seeing his son carry on the government, while he himself would retire on a salary and have more time to mow his lawn and read the magazines.

Yakoob Khan pays no indemnity to the English, but he gets $300,000 as long as he observes the treaty; he has his territory guaranteed against foreign attack, but not against home disputes; the passes surrendered to the British didn't belong to him anyhow.

A man who has won distinction by his own exertions, be it never so brilliant, will always be haunted with the idea that he might have made his song sweeter and his tale more bewitching if he had been to school in a college and had had an affectionate old money-bags for his father.

General T. B. Conway's plan is to take the intending negro emigrants and colonize them in Wisconsin, on 17,000 acres of land which General Butler has promised him for that purpose. Conway also has agents in half a dozen States engaging employment for his colored emigrants among the farmers.

The Pope and the Czar have agreed on a plan by which the Catholic church can live and breathe a little in Russia. The Pope will appoint his bishops from ecclesiastics designated by the Czar, and they will have the right of freely communicating with the Vatican and publishing bulls and encyclicals after they have received the Czar's *placet*.

The deficit in the finances of India for the year 1877–'78 was £3,543,057. The current year it was £1,355,000, notwithstanding the revenue was £7,000,000 greater than the year before. This state of things had to be sweetened by an announcement in the House of Commons that a decided reduction of expenditure in India had been determined on.

Why can't we find some man to make a contract with heaven that he will govern us justly, and thus let ourselves off from this everlasting cock-fight as to who shall be President? We could train our vines in quietness, learn to sculp and have peace like a psalm in the heart. Them politics make so much noise you can't hear the music of the spears.

When will the provincial Southerner and the narrow-minded Yankee cease from making this country too hot to live in? Come on, you Great West, and bring some men whose minds and sympathies fill the whole Mississippi valley and creep over the Rocky Mountains down to the ocean on the one hand, and over the Alleghanies down to the sea on the other.

It strikes us that the Democrats are wrong in calling Mr. Hayes a weak man just because he and his party happen to be of the same mind concerning their policy. They seem to forget that he had a long wrestle with a Republican Senate, and maintained the Presidential right of making appointments, when about the only backer he had was the Constitution.

The Juillard case, a suit brought to test the validity of the reïssue by the Government of United States legal-tender notes in times of peace, has been decided by Judge Blatchford in favor of the defendant, or validity of such reïssue, and it will now be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and argued by General Butler and Senator Edmunds.

If we should diffuse our negro population throughout the entire United States, then the relations of the colored man to the white man would become every man's problem, and the various divisions of our country, North, South, East and West, would stand some chance of becoming mutually forbearing, if not sympathetic toward one another's attempts to solve a troublesome question.

Charleston, South Carolina, has set up a bronze bust of William Gilmore Simms, the most distinguished literary man of the South. It is the work of J. Q. A. Ward, of New York City. Simms' thirty-eight volumes were almost exclusively devoted to American themes, and tended greatly to strengthen that local pride in Carolina which has been a leading characteristic of her people.

If the New York policeman is always going to be the "knave of clubs" that he is, and "schlog us on the cop," we shall have to have that "right bower" of our liberties manacled before we can play a very successful game of peace and quietness. He is a "locust" anyhow, and is "brought up" for violence a great deal oftener than any of your sassy paragraphers who are jabbing somebody or other continually.

It strikes the impartial mind that it was a great risk of prestige for the Democrats to undertake to force legislation when they neither had the President nor a majority sufficient to pass their measures over his veto. Might as well undertake to "go it alone" without the "bowers." Readiness to fight against any odds when you must is admirable. When you begin fights yourself the admirable thing is to know whom you are fighting, and win every time.

At the last annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland "most of the leading divines of the Church took occasion to repudiate the doctrine of eternal punishment as set forth in the Westminster Confession, declaring that hell-fire was not in their opinion material fire, but simply remorse or consciousness of sin and the 'darkness of separation.'" It is pleasant to see those literal-minded oat-eaters moving away from their old materialism, but their progress in spirituality doesn't give one the least encouragement to "go it with a rush" and damn the consequences. Not much.

The Democrats of the House finally got the Legislative and Army Appropriation Bills into some decent shape and passed them without much opposition from the Republicans. The political measures previously attached to these bills will go up to the White House all alone and stammer out what they have to say to the President. When they are bowed out of that edifice they won't go strutting down the front steps and up Pennsylvania Avenue. The Republican Senators have, we understand, come to the conclusion that there is danger in these appropriation bills yet, and they have decided to oppose their passage.

The white folks of the South very naturally want to say something concerning the lot and earnings of the exuding negroes. A correspondent, writing from the sugar regions of Louisiana, makes out that a negro with a family of ten members—three working members besides himself—can have a combined income of $524 a year. We have always understood that the negroes did very well in the sugar estates where the wages' system prevails. But that system does not keep the irresponsible darkey from behaving like the "probable son"—rioting on goodies in flush times and feeding on Johnny-cake and greens at all other times.

A committee appointed by the New York Assembly is now investigating the freight business of the New York Central Railway, to see if that company is dealing justly with all of its customers. Interesting reading. More than half of the business of that road is done on special rates—or rates below what are called schedule rates. The answers of the railway men show that they have extended a great deal of encouragement toward businesses that are dependent on low freights. Their rule for charging would seem to be: keep the road busy, by all means, encourage all the business you can, and treat each important freighter according to the facts in his particular case.

The proposal of General Conway, to send steamers down the Mississippi to bring away negroes awaiting transportation, excites a great deal of anxiety in the planters of Washington County, Miss., and they have issued an address to "Northern business men and benevolent societies," protesting against their lending countenance to any such scheme to deprive them of their hired folk. If our Southern brethren are anxious about their "help," then let them take hold and make a "soft spot" for the negroes. A happy negro, it occurs to us, would be proof against the seductions of a thousand steamers puffing and bellowing and awakening the echoes along the "Father of Waters."

A *Tribune* review takes down the ambition of newspaper men in this wise: "The selections from the labors of even the most powerful writers have in a few cases been attended with eminent success. Volumes teeming with wit and wisdom and brilliant composition, which have ventured the experiment of a collective edition, have fallen lifeless from the press, and, in spite of great and distinguished names, have met with failure no less signal than the *éclat* which greeted their appearance as originally published. With the exception of the 'Letters of Junius,' and the essays of Hamilton, Madison and Jay, known as the 'Federalist,' and perhaps one or two others of less conspicuous note, scarcely a work of this kind has attained a permanent place in literature."

The State of Tennessee repealed the charter of the City of Memphis, and sometime ago fixed up a new organization, called a Taxing District, which was charged with the duties ordinarily performed by the branches of a city government. Objection was made to this because it was "taxation without representation;" but the Supreme Court of the State has decided that wherever compulsory taxation is found necessary to compel a city to perform properly its duties as an agency in State government, or to fulfill any obligation legally or equitably resting on it in consequence of the action of such a body, a State has ample power to provide for the necessary taxation, and the people to be taxed have no absolute right to a voice in determining whether it shall be levied, except through their representation in Legislature.

Mr. A. J. Gilkey, of Duncanby, Miss., wants to know whether white employers have any rights which black employees are bound to respect. "During the month of March," says he in the *World*, "Mr. Alfred Bates, of Missouri, came to this county, leased a cotton plantation and paid as rent therefor $2,000. The land being fertile, he readily found freedmen who contracted with him to work the place on shares. But before 'a wheel could be turned' he had to invest $2,500 in mules, implements, forage and provisions. His tenants worked cheerfully and well up to the 1st of May. About that time they heard of Kansas and of all the luxuries and blessings which were there awaiting every darkey, without money and without price. On the night of May 10th every tenant Mr. Bates had, but four, moved out to the river bank and departed on a passing boat for Kansas. He reached the landing just in time to prevent their taking with them five of his mules. If Mr. Bates is fortunate he may save $1,000 of his $4,500 investment. As he suffered, so have hundreds of others, in a greater or less degree."

A down-east pagan and Yankee who has gone out West thinks that "hatred of the Southern whites is the most reliable force in Northern society." It all comes, he thinks, from the pious wish to bounce the sinners and all those who differ from us. "This feeling, according to my observation, has its fountain head in the churches. For, although I was born in a part of Connecticut where Democratic opinions prevailed in the churches, I have never seen anything like it elsewhere. Undoubtedly, four-fifths of the members of Protestant churches are Republicans. In the Methodist, and perhaps one or two other denominations, I should say nine-tenths are Republicans. Now if I can read the churchly and clerical mind, I should say further, that an unwritten article of its creed, and, in these skeptical days even more binding than any written one, is, that Southern people are sinners, and that it is the duty of good Christians so to vote as to teach them the fact. This they have uniformly done. They did it when slavery existed, and even when they held slaves themselves, and they do it now. They did it as Federalists, as Whigs, as Republicans, and they will do it again under some new name whenever the time comes." The sons of Belial have always had to be bounced.

Gambetta is distinguishing himself as President of the House of Deputies. He keeps his fiery French debaters well in hand. The sulky wheel-horse and the ramping leaders get an impartial lash. An old offender in debate, Gambetta knows all the ways of evil-doers, and punishment follows quickly on detection. "His whip," says a Paris correspondent of the *World*, "is the Réglement or body of rules for maintenance of discipline. It is studded with sharp, galling provisions, like a cat-o'-nine-tails with knots, and he knows the position of every knot by heart. If members refuse to keep quiet on one application, he gives them another taste of it, and the most hardened offenders generally yield at the second stinging blow." "There are four punishments: 1. The call to order. 2. The call to order with an inscription on the report. 3. Censure. 4. Censure with temporary exclusion from the Chamber." The first is a snub, pure and simple; the second subjects the offender to a fine of half his pay for fifteen days; the third is voted by the Chamber without debate, and the member, besides paying his fine, has to pay the cost of publishing his shame in every Commune of his circumscription. If a recalcitrant

deputy won't yield to a "temporary exclusion" the Chamber can lock him up for the remainder of his term.

"London," says the *Spectator*, "has now a population of 4,000,000, a population exceeding that of Scotland, and we venture to say, with all respect for Scotland, almost as intelligent. France is afraid to seat her Parliament in Paris. The United States are averse to seat theirs at New York. England feels no anxiety about seating hers in London. In spite of a professionally criminal class, a handful of police effectually keeps order, while the mighty self-acting mechanism by which the 4,000,000 of London are fed, and fed surely and without even the chance of a mishap, is one of the wonders of the world, and one of those which is least wondered at. In Rome you catch Roman fever. In Constantinople you wake up and find that a third of the city has been burned down while you slept. In a single twelvemonth, and but a few years ago, Paris suffered two sieges, famine and civil war. In the great cities of America you hear of vast conspiracies of corruptions which make your hair stand on end: but London, so much bigger than any of them, goes on her own way, not, of course, without great blunders, but still with a certain uniformity of peace and progress. London is a great marvel among cities, and her strength consists, not in intensity of social feeling, like Paris, nor in splendor of historic memoirs, like Rome—but rather in the sagacity which comes of sober, practical energies, and of a sedate and solid, but sometimes both slow and frigid, judgment."

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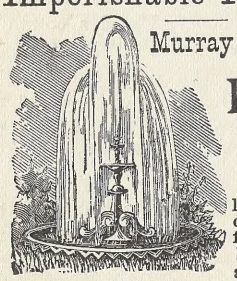

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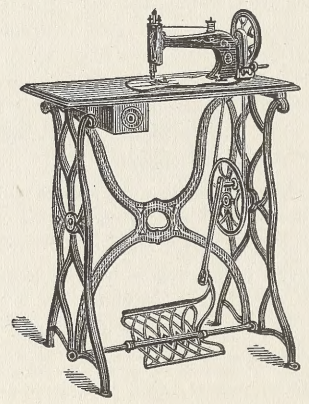

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